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The purposes of the study conducted in Saginaw County, Michigan, were to determine (1) changes experienced by Spanish-speaking migrants, especially moves into and out of the labor force; (2) future changes in the availability of Spanish-speaking migrants for agricultural labor; (3) the significance of migrants' settling permanently in Michigan; (4) the extent of change to non-farm labor; (5) how migrant families adjust to their new environment; and (6) how achievements are related to length of time in Michigan. The information obtained by interviewing sample families revealed that: (1) the rural residents of the area were recent arrivals while the more successful urban dwellers were more permanently attached to the area; (2) most of the migrant adults had little difficulty adjusting to their new environment even though their English was limited; (3) since they were unskilled workers, the parents held relatively low educational aspirations, but aspirations were as high as the national level for their children; and (4) once a Mexican American family had moved into a non-farm job there was little desire to return to agricultural work. The conclusion of the study was that the current supply of Spanish-speaking children, both urban and rural, will contribute little to farm labor needs in Michigan. (RH)

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MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTER

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Olen E. Leonard

Report 22

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CHANGES IN THE SPANISH SPEAKING LABOR FORCE OF SAGINAW COUNTY, MICHIGAN

Olen E. Leonard

Report 22

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTER

Mississippi State University
State College, Mississippi

September, 1968

PREFACE

Detailed data on conditions and problems of the Spanish-speaking migratory farm laborer of the Southwest are relatively recent. Among the first serious efforts to gather and analyze such data were those of Paul S. Taylor of the University of California, who, in 1920, began a series of labor publications calling attention to the nature and magnitude of the economic and social problems of the native, Spanish-speaking farm laborers of the Southwest. A decade later, the Works Projects Administration sponsored studies on migratory workers in the United States, including those of Spanish origin. These studies focused on migrants in Texas and California. Although primary attention was given to earnings, working conditions, type of work engaged in, areas of concentration, and routes followed by the migrants, some consideration was also given to living conditions, health, education, and housing. Findings demonstrated that these migrants followed a schedule of moves that coincided with the cycle of crops over wide areas, had levels of living much below those of other elements in the population, were often family units, had completed little, if any, formal education, and had almost no training; only a few were able to use the English language except in the most rudimentary form of oral communication.

Studies of migratory labor, including those of Spanish background, were continued by the federal and state governments in the 1930's and 1940's. Conrad Taeuber, Charles E. Lively, Seldon Menefee, and Howard B. Myers initiated and sponsored basic migration and migratory worker studies that were supplemented and enlarged at a number of state agricultural experiment stations. Although the 1940 Census contained relevant demographic data, most of these studies dealt with the nature of the problem rather than its magnitude.

A serious handicap in these early studies of migration and migratory workers was the wide variation in the definition of migrants. An important first step toward improvement here was taken in 1940 when the Census Bureau began to identify "migrants" by inquiring about their place of residence at a particular time in the past. More recently the Census has identified as "migrants" those persons who were working and living outside their country of residence at the time of the Census. This definition has been adopted by Louis J. Ducoff, Gladys K. Bowles, and other agricultural labor experts of the Economic Research Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Data on hired farm labor, including workers who move about, are now gathered periodically by the Economic Research Service through the Current Population Survey.

During the 1950's and the early 1960's, attention repeatedly has been called to Spanish-speaking migratory farm laborers who leave the Southwest for temporary work elsewhere and do not return to their communities of origin. Studies in the Economic Research Service and data published in 1960 by the Census Bureau in a special report on the

Spanish surname population of the Southwest show clearly that large numbers of workers have migrated from the rural Southwest to major cities in the area and to other regions. California has been the chief recipient of this migration, which has come mostly from New Mexico and Texas. The State of Michigan has been an important host to this migration. Entering the area to work in the beet fields or to pick cherries and other fruit, many have found more or less permanent work in the area, either in the rural areas or in the cities.

The decision of the Spanish-speaking farm migrants of the Southwest to remain in the states of other regions has encouraged them to adopt many elements of the dominant national culture never considered of major importance before moving. Progress in this direction, however, has been handicapped by a limited knowledge of English, little formal education and training, and a tendency to live in particular areas with little interaction outside. Characteristics of the group in Saginaw County, Michigan, described in this study, fit this pattern. Although data are not available to compare the situation in Saginaw County with others of similar nature in the Midwest, some evidence is available to indicate that the Saginaw pattern or type of adjustment is relatively common to the area.

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CHANGES IN THE SPANISH SPEAKING LABOR FORCE OF SAGINAW COUNTY, MICHIGAN

by Olen E. Leonard*

Problem and Purpose of Research

Problem

The State of Michigan is a heavy employer of farm labor, much of which is imported from other states. Approximately 52,000 migrant workers were reported as employed in the State during the latter part of July, 1963. Many of these migrants were Spanish-speaking. Each year hundreds of migrants leave their homes in Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico to help in the cultivation and harvest of Michigan's farm products. Some are single or unattached workers but most are members of families and households that combine their Michigan odysseys with working periods elsewhere. During peak labor seasons, they come by car, train, and bus, some on their own and others under the guidance of governmental offices and private employers. Most are nativeborn Americans, but some came originally from Latin American countries, and especially from Mexico. Among the Mexicans are those in the States for specific periods and others who, perhaps many years ago, simply walked across the border and never returned to their homes. A substantial number of these workers remained to make their permanent homes in Michigan. A few have become owners and operators of farms or other businesses.[1]

Saginaw County, Michigan, is a point of convergence for much of the labor that moves into the State from the Southwest. Almost all

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1. Farm Labor Market Developments, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., August 1964.

commercial farmers of the County hire some migratory laborers during the year. The 1959 Census of Agriculture estimates that 2,499 farmers in the County paid almost 2 million dollars in wages (or about $700 per farmer) to hired labor during 1959. This labor was employed largely by farmers who grow sugar beets and other vegetables, including both Irish and sweet potatoes. The peak of the local demand for labor takes place during the months of April and May when the sugar beets must be thinned and weeded.

Evidence available shows that the number of Spanish-speaking people in the state is growing. The 1940 Census of Population reported that some 12,000 persons whose mother tongue was Spanish resided in Michigan. Most of these people lived in cities; only 2,000 of the 12,000 Spanish-speaking persons in Michigan actually lived on farms in 1940.

Although the drift of Spanish-speaking people out of the Southwest is an old pattern, there is no systematic collection of data that reveals the volume of this migration, its destination, the proportion that becomes permanent, the problems that it creates for both host and donor communities, or other social and economic problems concerning the people involved. No information is available on the total number of migrants to Michigan, what proportion speak Spanish, or how many remain in the area after the seasonal work is over.

Purpose

This study, made in Saginaw County, Michigan, in 1960 and 1961 attempts to furnish information on:

1. Some of the more salient changes experienced by the Spanish-speaking migrants to Saginaw County, Michigan, especially moves into and out of the labor force.

2. Probable future changes in the availability of Spanish-speaking migrants for agricultural labor.

3. The significance of migration of Spanish-speaking workers to Saginaw County and the implications of their settling permanently in Michigan.

4. The extent to which migrants are shifting to nonfarm employment, and the impact of this shift on their families, especially their children.

5. The extent to which migrant families are adjusting to social and economic conditions in Michigan.

6. How achievements of migrants are related to the length of time they have lived in Michigan, the communities of origin, the ability to use English, and the success in obtaining and holding employment.

The Sample

To obtain a sample of urban Spanish-American households in Saginaw County, persons familiar with the city were asked to outline the area which would include all, or almost all, Spanish-speaking families living in the city. The area outlined covered 282 city blocks that contained an average of 3.6 Spanish-speaking households per block. A total of about 1000 families lived within the area selected for study.

In addition to the 300 sample families desired, supplementary samples of 10 percent for non-response and 33 percent for contingencies were drawn. The original sample rendered 290 useable schedules and the supplementary samples were never used. Two hundred sixty-five of these households were headed by a male and 25 by a female.

An area probability sample of the northeastern section of Saginaw County was drawn for the sample of rural Spanish-speaking households. Because there were fewer Spanish-speaking households than had been expected, all known rural Spanish-speaking households in the County were visited, and a total of 71 useable interview schedules for rural Spanish-speaking households was obtained.

Information included in this report was gathered through personal interviews with heads of households. Schedules for the urban and rural groups differed only in minor details. The survey in Saginaw city was made during the summer of 1960 and in rural Saginaw County during the late summer of 1961.

The schedules were administered by Spanish-speaking field workers. Data collection presented no special problems. Informants showed little reluctance to answer the questions and in general cooperated satisfactorily. Refusals were negligible, and rapport between respondents and interviewers was regarded as good throughout the gathering of the data. As will be evident in the text of the report, however, some of the questions were not answered by all informants. This failure to respond created gaps in the data. In all analytical tables, averages and other measures of central tendency are based on the numbers responding to specific questions.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING POPULATION

Spanish-speaking households and families generally are relatively large. Data from the 1960 Census of Population show that the average size of the urban and farm Spanish-speaking household in the Southwest is 4.8 and 5.9 persons, respectively. In comparison, the average size of the urban and rural households for the United States as a whole was 3.3 and 3.8 persons.

The size of the Spanish-speaking household in Saginaw County seems to be even larger than that in the Southwest. The mean size

of the rural household of the county was 6.4 persons and the median, 6.5 persons. For urban households, the mean size was 5.7 persons and the median, 6.1 persons. The number of households with 7 or more members was especially large (Table 1). Among the urban group, 36 percent of the households had 7 or more members; 41 percent of the rural households had 7 or more members. About one-third of all households included someone who was not a member of the family.

Table 1. Size of Spanish-speaking households in Saginaw County, by residence.

Size of household	Residence				Total responding	
	Urban		Rural			
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1-2 members	26	9	0	0	26	7
3-4 members	70	24	16	22	86	24
5-6 members	89	31	26	37	115	32
7-8 members	75	26	15	21	90	25
9 or more members	30	10	14	20	44	12
Total responding[1/]	290	100	71	100	361	100

1/ Differences between urban, but not rural households significant at .05 level.

Child-bearing is likely to begin when the housewife is young, a generality that is borne out by the data for Spanish-Americans in Saginaw County. Almost half (45 percent) of the urban and more than half (56 percent) of the rural wives included in the study had their first child before their twentieth birthday (Table 2). Only 18 percent of the urban and 12 percent of the rural wives had reached 25 years of age prior to having their first child. The education of household heads bore little relationship to age at which first births occurred.

Further evidence of the relatively large size of families among the Spanish-speaking people of Saginaw County is contained in Table 3. About 30 percent of the urban wives had had 6 or more live births. For rural wives, who were somewhat younger, the percentage was just over 50. There appears to be a negative relationship, if slight,

between education of the head of the household and the number of live births reported. When the head of the household reported less than two years of schooling, more than half of both the urban and the rural wives reported 6 or more live births.

Table 2. Age of mother when first child was born, by education of the head and language spoken by head to other adults in the home.

Highest grade completed by head	Age and residence of mother						Total responding	
	Under 20		20-24		25-over			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
0-1 years	26	9	10	5	13	4	49	18
2-3 years	8	13	7	8	1	1	16	22
4-6 years	19	9	25	3	11	1	55	13
7-12 years	36	2	29	3	10	1	75	6
13 or more years	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
Total responding	89	33	72	19	36	7	197	59

The same type of relationship obtained between education of the spouse and the number of live births. Where about half of both rural and urban wives with no formal education reported 6 or more live births, less than one-third of the spouses who had 7 years of schooling or more reported as many live births. The fewer births for spouses with more education was particularly marked for the urban households. Spouses with little or no formal education reported more children living than did those with more education. While one-third of the rural spouses with no education reported 6 or more still living, only about 1 in 9 of the urban and 1 in 7 of the rural spouses with 7 years of schooling or more reported as many as 6 living children.

The number of living children in the home appears to be related to language used most often in the home. In the households where the heads reported speaking more Spanish than English to other adults in the home, almost one-third of the urban spouses and more than 50 percent of the rural spouses reported that 6 or more of their children were still living. When English was reported as the more commonly used

language in urban households, only 20 percent of the spouses had as many as 6 living children. There were no rural Spanish-American families in which English was reported as the more commonly spoken language.

Table 3. Number of live-born children reported by female spouses, by education of household head.

Highest grade completed by head 1/	Number of children and residence					
	0-5 Children		6 or more Children		Total responding	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
0-1 years	24	6	30	12	54	18
2-3 years	11	8	6	14	17	22
4-6 years	44	9	13	4	57	13
7 or more years.	63	6	13	0	76	6
Total responding	142	29	62	30	204	59

1/ Two urban heads with college education not included.

Both the heads of households and their spouses are young as compared with all family heads and their spouses in the Saginaw County population. Twenty-one percent of the rural and 16 percent of the urban heads of households visited were under 30 years of age as compared with only 14 percent in the general population (See Table 4).[2] Almost one-fourth (24 percent) of the spouses from both groups were under 30 years of age as compared with 18 percent in the general population. On the other hand,only 8 percent of the rural and 13 percent of the urban heads were 60 years of age or more as compared with 19 percent in the general population. These differences were about the same for the wives.

2. See U. S. Census of Population, Families, 1960, p. 41.

Table 4. Age of heads of households and their spouses.

Age	Head rural		Head urban		Spouse rural		Spouse urban	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Under 20	1	1	2	1	3	4	3	1
20 - 29	14	20	41	15	13	20	57	23
30 - 39	11	16	99	36	18	28	103	41
40 - 49	24	34	54	20	18	27	44	18
50 - 59	15	21	42	15	12	18	29	12
60 and over	6	8	34	13	2	3	12	5
Total responding	71	100	272	100	66	100	248	100

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

A common assumption in migration analysis is that all first generation farm migrants are likely to have: (1) relatively low levels of occupational achievement, (2) relatively low levels of occupational aspirations for themselves and for their children, and (3) children whose aspirations are not as high as those of children in the general population. These attitudes and behavior patterns are explained in terms of poor and limited job opportunities, association with individuals and groups with low aspirations, and a general lack of awareness of realistic opportunities that exist in the job market and how to take advantage of them.[3]

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3. Hyman, H. H., "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, (Rev. Ed.), 1966. Seymore M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Utilization," Rural Sociology, Vol. XX, No. 3-4, Sept.-Dec., 1955, pp. 220-228. This theory has been partially disproved in a Michigan study. See Archie O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62, No. 4, Jan., 1957. The latter study found that occupational aspirations are not associated with residence when the factor of intelligence is controlled. For a summary of findings on comparative urban and rural youth occupational aspirations, see

Mobility of the Group

It is likely that the Spanish-speaking migrant farm laborers of the Southwest, especially those who live along the southern border of Texas, are geographically as mobile as any other group of comparable size in the United States. Many of them follow seasonal crops within the area and into other states and particularly into Arizona and California.

The working careers of the Spanish-speaking heads of households visited in Saginaw County, both urban and farm, have been particularly unstable. Most of the heads of households had been born in a state other than Michigan. Fifty-eight percent of all urban and 97 percent of all the farm household heads had first worked either in Texas or in Mexico. Almost 62 percent of all urban unskilled and 96 percent of the farm unskilled heads of households had their first job outside the State of Michigan. About half as many of the urban skilled (35 percent) reported that they had first worked outside the State (Table 5).

Table 5. Location of first job of head of household, by present occupation of head.

Present occupation of head	Location of first job and residence: Texas		Michigan		Mexico and other foreign		Total responding	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Skilled and semi-skilled	11	4	23	0	3	0	37	4
Unskilled	87	49	69	2	26	5	182	56
Total responding1/	98	53	92	2	29	5	219	60

1/ Differences significant for urban but not rural heads at .05 level.

Burchinal, Lee G., Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society, Bulletin 458, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, 1962. For discussion of aspiration vs. expectations see Kuvlesky, William P., "Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth and Some Suggestions for Action Programs," Paper presented at AAAW meeting of February 9, 1966, in Jackson, Mississippi.

Urban household heads, as a group, both skilled and unskilled, have been more mobile than their farm counterparts, in both number of jobs held and number of local moves. A large portion of the urban heads, most of whom are now working as unskilled laborers, reported some experience in skilled or clerical jobs. This is in line with an apparent overall pattern of mobility that begins with a move into a state, an initial job as an unskilled farm worker, frequent moves from one unskilled job to another in a city, and then, with experience and good fortune, to a more stable skilled craftsman's job in a city.

Some measure of the occupational mobility of the heads of households is manifest in the data of Table 6. Although the group was relatively young (37% of the farm workers and 52 % of the urban workers were less than 40 years of age), most reported several changes in occupation.

Of the 290 heads of urban households, 12 reported having held, at some time in their careers, a professional, technical, managerial, or related occupation; 46 had worked as sales clerks; and 60 had once worked in a skilled job. As indicated earlier, the usual job sequence for most of these heads of households has been from the less to the more skilled occupations. Work experience of the farm household heads has been more limited, although more than half reported having done clerical, sales, or similar work at some time in their careers.

Present Occupation

Although approximately 75 percent of the urban heads of households had lived in Saginaw County for 10 years or more and almost 10 percent were born there, 79 percent of the urban and 86 percent of the farm household heads held unskilled jobs (Table 7). At the same time only 7 percent of total rural and urban employed workers in the county were employed at unskilled jobs. The tendency to do unskilled work seems to have little relationship to education, although most of those involved in skilled work had a fairly good command of English and had been in Saginaw for a relatively long period.

Occupational Aspirations

Only a small portion of the heads of households interviewed showed a major concern for improving their job situations. Most appear satisfied with, or at least resigned to, their present work (Table 8). Contrary to what one might expect from findings of comparable studies in the general population, this attitude was less true for the farm workers than for the urban workers. While only 17 percent of the urban heads indicated that they would prefer other work to their present jobs, 56% of the farm heads preferred other work. The rural group aspired to skilled or operative work, a change that would require moving into the cities and competing for skilled jobs.

Table 6. Occupational classification of jobs sometime held by household heads, by education of heads.

Highest grade completed by head	Occupational category and residence									
	Professional, technical, managers, officials and proprietors		Clerical, sales, and service workers		Craftsmen, operatives, and kindred workers		Farm laborers and foremen		Laborers except farm and mine	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	0	0	1	2	8	4	21	17	31	10
1-3 years	1	0	6	3	8	5	29	20	48	7
4-6 years	5	0	16	2	18	4	27	15	59	4
7 or more years	6	0	23	0	26	2	25	6	76	4
Total responding	12	0	46	7	60	15	102	58	214	25

Table 7. Present occupation of head of household, by highest grade completed.

Highest grade completed by head	Present occupation and residence: Skilled and semi-skilled, Urban	Skilled and semi-skilled, Farm	Unskilled, Urban	Unskilled, Farm	Total responding, Urban	Total responding, Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	3	1	30	18	33	19
1-3 years	8	5	40	17	48	22
4-6 years	12	2	49	15	61	17
7 or more years	25	1	59	7	84	8
Total responding	48	9	178	57	226	66

1/ Differences not significant at .05 level.
Percent of urban heads doing unskilled work -- 79.
Percent of rural heads doing unskilled work -- 86.

Urban household heads were somewhat more indefinite than their farm counterparts in expressing desires for or interest in other types of work. Those under 40 years of age were more ambitious as well as more articulate than the older group in regard to their occupational choices. Many of the older workers were pessimistic about the possibility for improving their job situations. The consensus seems to be that getting a better job is contigent upon acquiring a better knowledge of English, a possibility that appears to be extremely remote to older workers, especially those with longer residence in Michigan. For this group, occupational accessibility and job pay are both closely related to knowledge of English and the ability to use it.

None of the heads of households doing other than farm work wanted to move into farm jobs, although 1 urban and 4 farm workers expressed interest in laborer jobs outside farming. Only 7 of the urban and 3 of the rural workers indicated professional, technical, or kindred occupations as occupations to which they aspire, although it seems that these reactions were based largely on an assumption that higher pay and higher status jobs were not and would not be accessible to them. The implication appears to be that many of the Spanish-speaking migrants of the area do not yet fully share the general American desire to get ahead.[4]

4. For a discussion of this idea among certain poverty groups,

Table 8. Heads of laborer households indicating occupations to which they aspire, by age.

Age of Head	Occupations and Residence: Professional, technical, managers, officials and proprietors		Clerical, sales and service workers		Craftsmen, operatives, and kindred workers		Laborers both farm and non-farm (no change)		Total responding	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Under 30 years	1	0	1	2	5	6	1	4	8	12
30 - 39	3	1	5	0	15	4	2	2	25	7
40 - 49	2	1	2	3	6	6	1	3	11	13
50 - 59	1	1	0	0	3	5	1	1	5	7
60 and over	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total responding 1/	7	3	8	5	30	22	5	10	50	40

1/ Total number urban heads 290, rural heads 71. Differences between rural and urban aspirations are not significant at .05 level.

Occupational Aspirations for Children

Occupational aspirations of the heads of Spanish-speaking households in Saginaw are extremely modest for themselves but are higher for sons and daughters. Levels of aspirations for sons seem to be comparable to those that have been indicated by various youth groups studied elsewhere (Table 9).[5]

Skilled urban heads of households were more ambitious than others for their children; 12 of the 15 informants expressed a hope that their sons would go into professional work. Neither of the two farm workers doing skilled work claimed to want their sons to become professionals. Of the combined groups of household heads, 41 thought that their sons would like to live on a farm and 53 that they would like to work on a farm. The number were evenly divided between farm and urban heads.

Unskilled heads of households, both urban and farm, manifested levels of occupational aspirations for their sons that were relatively high -- almost as high as those of the skilled. Approximately 82 percent of the urban unskilled workers and 53 percent of the farm unskilled workers have aspirations for their sons to do professional or related work. A surprising finding of the study was that only 7 of the more than 100 household heads responding to the questions wanted their sons to do unskilled labor although they may well expect that many of them will do it. (See Footnote 3.) This suggests potential upward mobility, at least as far as ideology is concerned.

The level of aspiration of heads of households for daughters was somewhat less high than for sons. This, in part, could be a vestige of Spanish culture, which gives greater emphasis to the education of sons than to daughters. Aspirations for the daughters, however, were much higher than for the workers themselves. More than half of both the unskilled and skilled workers, both urban and farm, would like to see their daughters go into professional or related work. For reasons that were not satisfactorily explained to the field workers, parents appeared to be reluctant to respond to questions pertaining to their aspirations for sons and still more reluctant to questions touching upon aspirations for daughters.

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see: Moreland, J. Kenneth, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community," Social Forces, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-4, Oct. 1960-May 1961, pp. 169-175.

5. See Youmans, E. Grant, Shaw E. Grigsby and Helen Carawan King, After High School, What...?, University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service, in cooperation with Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A., Gainesville, Florida. See Burchinal, Lee G., op. cit., for a number of good references to studies on the subject; also Rockefeller Brothers Fund, A Study of the Problems, Attitudes and Aspirations of Rural Youth, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1963.

Table 9. Occupational aspirations of heads of households for sons and daughters, by occupation of head.

Occupation of Head	Professional, technical, managers, officials and proprietors		Clerical, sales, and service workers		Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers		Unskilled (includes laborers both farm and non-farm)		Total responding	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Sons										
Skilled and semi-skilled	12	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	15	2
Unskilled	54	10	1	1	7	6	4	2	66	19
Total responding	66	10	2	3	8	6	5	2	81	21
Daughters										
Skilled and semi-skilled	8	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	15	1
Unskilled	35	13	23	7	0	1	3	3	61	24
Total responding	43	13	30	8	0	1	3	3	76	25

Aspirations of the Sons

Little evidence was uncovered to indicate that fathers in agriculture succeed in effectively transferring farming as a career to their offspring. Neither living on a farm nor working on a farm seemed to appeal to sons. Relatively more urban sons with fathers in the higher income class would like to live on a farm. It is assumed that most or all of these were thinking of proprietor or operator rather than farm laborer jobs. Sons of the farm heads of households follow the pattern of farm youth in other parts of the nation in expressing more interest in farm work and farm living than did sons of urban heads. Almost half of the former thought that they would like to live and work on a farm.

There was some relationship between education of parents to interest manifested by sons in working on a farm (Table 10). Among urban youth, interest in farm work seems directly related to formal education of fathers, a relationship that suggests again that the sons are not thinking of laborer jobs in their aspirations for a career in agriculture. A reverse relationship obtains for rural youth, that is, interest in farm work is greater for sons of less educated fathers, an association that probably reflects a more realistic appraisal of the barriers confronting any desire to move up into the higher occupational categories. The same relationship between education of the spouse and interest of the sons in farm work exists in rural areas. The relationship is much less marked between education of urban spouse and the interest of the sons in farm living and farm work.

Ethnic factors, particularly language, did not seem to play a major role in the shaping of aspirations. Older Spanish-speaking workers expressed little hope of moving further up the occupational ladder but have reasonably high aspirations for their children. Their sons, however, gave every evidence of aspirations as high as those that have been recorded for youth elsewhere.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Formal achievement in education is limited both for the heads of the households and for their spouses. Only about one-third of the heads and their spouses had completed part or all of a high school curriculum. Five had done more advanced work. The urban group progressed further in school than the rural group. All who reported attendance at a college were urban residents, and all but 9 of those completing all or some part of high school were from the urban group. Most of the rural couples and about half of the urban had not completed more than four years of school; in other words, they had just reached the point where functional illiteracy ends. Almost one-fifth of all heads and their spouses, both rural and urban, reported no formal education at all.

Table 10. Sons 10-17 years of age would or would not like to work on farm, by education of household head, and of spouse.

Highest grade completed by head	Desire to farm and residence: Would like to work on farm		Would not like to work on farm		Don't Know		Total responding	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	2	8	15	8	1	1	18	17
1-3 years	4	3	13	15	3	2	20	20
4-6 years	8	6	21	9	4	2	33	17
7 or more years	11	0	20	0	3	1	34	1
Total1/	25	17	69	32	11	6	105	55
Highest grade completed by spouse								
None	6	5	9	15	4	1	19	21
1-3 years	2	3	15	8	1	4	18	15
4-6 years	8	11	23	7	3	1	34	19
7 or more years	8	2	23	2	3	0	34	4
Total1/	24	21	70	32	11	6	105	59

1/ Differences by educational categories significant at .05 level for urban heads but not for urban spouses. No test of significance of difference calculated for rural categories because of small frequencies.

Although the level of educational achievement was low for the entire group of adults visited, it was particularly low for those who had come from Texas. "School dropout" was the norm for all groups and most of those who had dropped out of school had done so at a very early age. Rural couples dropped out more frequently, particularly in the lower grades, than did urban couples.

Levels of Achievement

The level of education achieved by the Spanish-speaking household heads and their spouses in Saginaw County is substantically lower than that for comparable age groups in the general population. The median years of schooling completed by the urban residents was only 5 years and for the rural residents only 3 years. This is quite a bit less than the median of approximately 10 years completed by the total adult population of Saginaw County 25 years of age or over.[6] Of 262 urban heads of households responding, 41 had not completed even the first grade, and of 70 rural heads, 22 had completed no formal schooling. The level of education for the wives was even lower (Table 11).

Table 11. Years heads of households and their spouses completed in school, by residence.

Highest grade completed	Head				Spouse			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	41	16	22	31	34	14	22	41
1-4 years	74	28	34	49	55	23	23	43
5-8 years	98	37	12	17	73	31	4	8
9-12 years	46	18	2	3	73	31	4	8
13 or more years	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	0
Total responding	262	100	70	100	237	100	53	100

Not only is the average level of education achievement low for both the rural and the urban adults but the range in achievement for

6. U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC (1) 24C (Michigan), p. 301.

both groups is limited. Only a negligible number of household heads and their wives had completed primary school, that is, eighth grade. This level of achievement was much lower than for any other group in the County. The average educational achievement for non-white adults in the County 25 years of age or over was 8.3 years and only 180 (2.1 percent) of more than 8,500 non-white adults completed no grades in school. Although extremely low for both groups, educational achievement among the urban Spanish-speaking adults of Saginaw County, Michigan, is greater than for the rural adults in every age category. None of the rural and only 3 of the urban heads of households reported receiving any education beyond high school. With education guarding the entrance to so many areas of white collar and skilled work, the limited achievement of many of these people promises to commit them to a permanent status in the unskilled ranks.7

Despite little hope for additional schooling for themselves, Spanish-speaking adults appear to place a high value on educational achievement for their children. In fact, there seems to be little difference between the study group and the general population in their appreciation for education, at least insofar as enrollment in school is concerned. Figures for the enrollment of the Spanish-speaking children from 10 to 17 years of age were just slightly less than the estimated enrollment for the same in the general population in 1960.

The school dropout rate for those reaching 18 years of age, however, appears to be much higher for Spanish-speaking youth than for a comparable age group in the general population. For unmarried children over 18 years of age who were living at home, only about 8 percent were still in school; about 30 percent of all children 18-24 years of age in the national population were still in school during the academic year 1961-62. Evidence from the survey shows that rural youth in the study are taking less advantage of existing educational facilities than the urban group. While only about 4 percent of the urban group 10 to 17 years of age is not enrolled in school, about 23 percent of the rural group in the same age category is not enrolled. The distribution for the 18-years old and older group was much the same. Only 1 rural youth 18 years old and over was in school as compared with 9 from the urban group.[8] There seems to be little relationship, if any,

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7. For a discussion of the relationship between educational achievement and social-economic status see: James Cowhig, Characteristics of School Dropouts and High School Graduates, ERS-USDA Agricultural Economic Report No. 65, 1964; Herman P. Miller, "Annual and Lifetime Income in Relation to Education: 1939-1959," American Economic Review, Vol. 50, No. 5, December 1960.

8. Digest of Education Statistics, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1964, estimates that 93.5 percent of the general population age 14-17 was enrolled in school in 1963-64 as compared to 90 percent of the population 10-17 in this study.

between the education of the spouse and school enrollment of the children.

Some empirical evidence is available to support the thesis that there is a relationship between the amount and type of formal education of parents and that of their offspring. Children of parents who have gone to college are more likely to attend college while children of parents with little or no higher education are not as likely as others to complete much schooling. This association would be magnified if the claims that the rural traditional Spanish culture places a relatively low value on formal school achievement is true.[9]

Data in this study do not show any clear and consistant relationship between school achievements of parents and children, in part because the general level of education of parents is so low (Table 12). For the 32 urban children 18 years of age and over completing high school, almost one-third were sons of men with no education. The one rural son who had completed high school reported that his father completed less than three years of school. On the other hand, sons completing 7 grades or more had parents whose average education ranged from 7 to 12 years of school. None of the sons with less than 7 years of schooling had parents with 7 or more years of schooling. Years of schooling completed by mothers seemed to have little or no relationship to the education of their sons. There was little difference in achievement of rural and urban sons even though the educational levels of urban parents generally was more.

Educational Aspirations of Parents for Children

Data in the study show that parental attitudes concerning education for their children have little relationship to their own achievements. Of household heads replying to a question concerning their expectations for their children, approximately 85 percent believe that their children will complete a high school education or more, although just 18 (6 percent) of the urban sample thought that their sons would be able to go to college. Unskilled household heads were about as optimistic about what their sons would do academically as were the skilled.

Levels of income of the heads of households seemed to have little relationship to educational aspirations and expectations of fathers for their offspring. Residence was more closely associated with educational aspiration. While 72 percent of the rural workers, all of whom earned less than $4,000 in 1960, think that their children will want to complete 11 grades or more in school, all urban heads in this same

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9. Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care, Russell Sage Foundation, New York: 1954, pp. 74-76. Also, Olen E. Leonard, "Occupational Structure and Occupational Aspirations of Spanish-speaking Families of Saginaw County, Michigan," a paper (unpublished) presented at the Rural Sociological Society meeting at Miami Beach, Florida, 1966.

Table 12. Number of urban and rural children 18 years of age and over completing certain grades in school, by education of head.

Highest grade completed by head	Children completing specified grades and residence									
	0-3 years		4-8 years		9-11 years		12 or more years		Total	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	0	0	4	12	5	4	10	0	19	16
1 - 3 years	0	5	6	17	10	2	7	1	23	25
4 - 6 years	0	1	4	2	6	1	9	0	19	4
7 or more years	0	0	2	0	5	0	6	0	13	0
Total responding	0	6	16	31	26	7	32	1	74	45

income category (under $4,000) think that their children will want at least a high school education. Urban heads earning between $4,000 and $6,000 were by far the most ambitious group. Thirty-two of the 167 men in this group (about 20 percent) think that their sons will want to go to college, and all but three think that their sons will want a minimum of a high school education. In general, however, the educational aspirations of the Spanish-speaking group appear to lag somewhat behind other groups in the nation.

Participation in School Affairs

Parental involvement in school affairs leads to involvement in other facets of community life. Achieving this involvement, however, is often a slow process where communities are divided and where certain groups, especially minority groups, may not feel needed or able to contribute to local activities.

Participation in community school affairs by the Spanish-speaking families of Saginaw County, Michigan, appears to have many facets.[10] Studies of Spanish-speaking areas in the Southwest repeatedly have revealed that the wife dedicates most of her time and energy to the home. She often has limited interests, and her involvement in formal neighborhood and community activities, including those associated with the school seldom goes beyond visits with immediate relatives and neighbors. This pattern seems to prevail among the Spanish-speaking migrants to Michigan, especially to those who have recently arrived in the area. However, some of the urban Spanish-speaking homemakers of Saginaw County evinced interest in local school activities and participated in parent-teacher association meetings and visited with teachers and children in school.

Urban heads of households were more involved in school activities than rural heads. About 58 percent of the urban sample had attended all school programs during the past academic year. Although attendance of rural heads of households at school activities were less frequent, 23 (approximately 35 percent) attended all school activities (Table 13).

There was little difference between the skilled and the unskilled in the pattern of visits made to school programs and school activities. Somewhat surprisingly, the unskilled heads of urban families reported a higher rate of participation than did the urban skilled heads. The latter, however, showed a little higher participation on other counts. There was little variation in this

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10. Youmans and Grigsby, op. cit.; Haller and Sewell, op. cit.; James N. Morgan and others, op. cit.; and E. J. Morre and others, Economic Factors Influencing Educational Attainments and Aspirations of Farm Youth, Agricultural Economics Report No. 51, Economic Research Service, USDA, 1964.

Table 13. Participation of household heads in school affairs last year, by occupation of head.

Occupation of Head	Number reporting visit to: Children and teachers but not PTA		Children and PTA but not teachers		Children but not teachers or PTA		All		None	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Skilled and semi-skilled	1	0	2	0	1	1	22	2	15	1
Unskilled	4	1	16	6	17	10	116	21	43	23
Total responding	5	1	18	6	18	11	138	23	58	24

participation in Saginaw by education and income of workers. This information was not available for the rural group.

MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

It is likely that social scientists would rate participation in local community life as one of the better indexes of the social and economic integration of any individual or group. To the extent that the various age and sex groups meet and become involved in organized activities, a community may be assumed to have some degree of "organization" and integration.

The Cultural Limitation

Data from this study show not only that the relatively recent Spanish-speaking rural migrants but many of those who have been in the county for two or three decades or who were born there, live at the margin of local activities. That membership and participation in the organizations of the community are extremely limited for both rural and urban residents is perhaps the most outstanding findings this study offers of the marginal status of the Spanish-speaking population in the community. Some of the reasons for this lie in the cultural make-up of the people, that is, the limitations placed on certain activity roles, especially for wives and older daughters. Other reasons lie in the ability of the relatively highly integrated Spanish-speaking family to satisfy most of its social needs within the limits of its highly integrated and extended, Spanish-speaking borders. More reason could be found, perhaps, in a failure of both host and the migrant leadership to promote and facilitate assimilation that would make the migrants an integral part of the overall, functional community.

Participation and membership in the organized life of the community is particularly limited for the heads of Spanish-speaking households in Saginaw. Only one rural and 54 urban heads of households were members of a formal group such as a club, lodge, or union, and thirty-three of the groups to which the 54 urban heads belonged were limited exclusively to Spanish-speaking members. These organizations were largely social. There was little difference in the incidence of membership among the various occupational groups. Of the 54 urban workers who belonged to organizations, only 6 belonged to more than one (Table 14). There was little tendency for memberships to cluster in specific groups. Unskilled workers held about as many memberships as did others.

In Table 15, club memberships in Saginaw are classified by education of the heads of households. In general, those with more formal education were likely to hold membership in organizations. There was one formal membership among the 30 heads of households with no formal education as compared with 8 memberships in the group with 10 or more years of schooling. Education, it would seem, is an important factor in accelerating the assimilation of minority groups into the general population.

Table 14. Organizational memberships of urban Saginaw household heads, by occupation.

Occupation of head	Number of memberships			
	None	1	2 or more	Total responding
	No.	No.	No.	No.
White collar	5	3	1	9
Skilled and semi-skilled	18	9	1	28
Unskilled	137	36	4	177
Total responding1/	160	48	6	214

1/ Difference between occupational groups not significant at .05 level.

Table 15. Formal group memberships for urban Saginaw household heads, by education of head.

Highest grade completed by head	Number of memberships			
	None	1	2 or more	Total responding
	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	29	1	0	30
1-3 years	33	10	1	44
4-6 years	42	14	2	58
7-9 years	34	16	2	52
10 or more years	22	7	1	30
Total responding	160	48	6	214

Wives of the Spanish-speaking heads of households participate in local community organizations even less than do their husbands. None of the wives of rural heads of households belonged to a club, lodge, union, or other organization, and only 62 of the 228 spouses of urban households held such membership. There seemed to be little or no relationship between organizational membership of women and other factors such as income, occupation, and participation of husband.

The Spanish-speaking children of Saginaw County, as well as their parents, participate little in local organized life. Of 210 urban children from 10 to 17 years of age, 169 (80 percent) were not a member of any formal group (Table 16). Eleven of the 41 urban children who belonged to formal groups belonged to those whose memberships were exclusively Spanish-speaking. Incidence of membership was lower for the rural than forthe urban children. Of 93 rural children, 86 (92 percent) were not members of any formal group and 6 out of 7 reporting membership in some group were in groups with exclusively Spanish-speaking members. There was no clear association between membership of the children in a formal organization and education of the parents. In the rural group, all members were children of men with less than 4 years of schooling.

Table 17 presents membership in organizations by annual family income. Some clusters of membership in the higher income family groups may be noted although most of the differences are not significant statistically. For the urban group with incomes under $4,000, only one man held membership in a group. which was a club in which members speak Spanish. The same situation obtains for the rural groups although the number of cases are too small to permit valid conclusions concerning variations. A large proportion of the rural group held no membership in any organized body. Thus, it seems that a child from a lower income urban group has about as much chance to become a member of an organization (not the church) as any other urban child. A rural child will probably belong to no organization other than the church.

Such data as are available for both the urban and the rural groups indicate that no special relationship exists between group membership and characteristics of spouse. It should be kept in mind however, that the number of cases here is small--too small to do more than point our some of the possible relationships.

LEVELS AND STYLES OF LIVING

Level of living, as used here, refers to what economists often call "standard of living." It connotes one's actual living conditions rather than the level or style one would like or prefer to have (ideal or standard). It includes income, housing conditions, household items, and facilities. For a number of decades the Department of Agriculture has used these items, or variations of them, in a "level-of-living index."[11]

Literature available on the Spanish-speaking people of the United States pictures all, but particularly the rural residents, as deprived economically. Sometimes the analysts have forgotten, however, that most of the published secondary data on Spanish-speaking people of the United States are available only for

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11. Either in Michigan or elsewhere.

Table 16. Children 10-17 years of age, holding membership in clubs, and in clubs exclusively Spanish-American, by education of head of household.

Highest grade completed by head	Membership in clubs and residence							
	Not member of any club		Member of club exclusively Spanish-American		Member of club not exclusively Spanish-American		Total	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	28	32	2	3	4	1	34	36
1 - 3	42	27	3	3	3	0	48	30
4 - 6	50	24	4	0	11	0	65	24
7 or more	49	3	2	0	12	0	63	3
Total responding	169	86	11	6	30	1	210	93

Table 17. Household heads reporting children 10-17 years of age as members of club and as members of clubs exclusively Spanish-American, by family income.

Annual family income	Membership in clubs by residence: Not a member of any club	Member of club exclusively Spanish-American	Member of club not exclusively Spanish-American	Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.
Urban				
Under $4,000	26	1	0	27
$4,000 - $5,999	116	10	18	144
$6,000 and over	37	1	14	52
Total responding	179	12	32	223
Rural				
Under $1,000	13	1	0	14
$1,000 - $1,999	20	0	0	20
$2,000 - $2,999	21	0	4	25
$3,000 and over	23	2	0	25
Total responding	77	3	4	84

circumscribed areas that are relatively deprived, such as a great part of Texas and Colorado. There are very few data on Spanish-speaking people who live elsewhere especially those who have left the Southwest for other, more prosperous sections of the United States.

Many Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest moved during and after World War II. Most of them seem to have gone West, although many moved to the north and to the northeast. How have these people fared both economically and socially in these environments? To what extent have they become an integral part of the communities into which they have moved, or to what degree do they remain isolated, experiencing difficulties in competing with those in the larger community who have a different language and different customs. Does the relatively unskilled and untrained migrant from the Southwest carry his poverty environment with him and adapt it, over time, to his new surroundings? Do the migrants tend to cling to the pattern or way of living from which they came, or do they abandon it over time in order to conform to the standards of the communities they have adopted?

As indicated in Table 7, about four-fifths (80 percent) of the urban heads of the Spanish-speaking households do unskilled work, although only a few do farm work. Despite this concentration in the unskilled jobs, earnings of both families and individuals approach the national level for all employed persons, according to data in the 1960 Census of Population. Incomes of the rural Spanish-speaking heads of households were less than half of those of urban, although the amount of perquisites received by the latter in the form of housing, utilities, home-grown food, etc., compensated for some of the difference.

For the urban families in the survey, there seemed to be little relationship between the husband's type of work and the amount of family income. Of 230 respondents in the urban group, a greater percent of the unskilled workers (83 percent) than the skilled (77 percent) were earning $4,000 per year or more, although relatively more skilled workers were earning $6,000 or more (Table 18). Too, there were relatively fewer skilled workers (six percent) than unskilled workers (nine percent) earning less than $3,000 per year.

Although Spanish-speaking urban families in the study were concentrated in certain areas of Saginaw, these areas were not always the poorest areas of the city. Considered in terms of housing and housing facilities, urban families were, for the most part, living in average neighborhoods. Homes of the rural families were dispersed throughout the countryside. Most of the rural families were living in houses furnished by employers, but some of them own their own houses. Data on housing refers to that at the family's permanent residence, in Michigan or elsewhere.

Table 18. Family income reported by urban household heads, by occupation of head.1/

Occupation of head	Income level: Under $2,999	$3,000-$3,999	$4,000-$5,999	$6,000 and over	Total responding
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Skilled	2	6	19	8	35
Unskilled	18	16	127	34	195
Total responding	20	22	146	42	230

1/ All rural heads employed at farm work, all but nine at unskilled level. Rural family incomes are: 25 families less than $1,000 per year; 21 families $1,000-$1,999; 10 families $2,000-$2,999; one earning $3,800 and one $5,000 per year.

Neither houses of urban families in Saginaw or those owned by the rural families could be considered small by national standards. More than half had four or more bedrooms, although some were not exclusively used as such. More of the rural than urban homes had four or more bedrooms. The percentage of houses with one bedroom or less was about the same for each of the residence groups.

There was substantial variation in the quantity and type of facilities in the rural and the urban homes. Most of the urban families had both private (unshared) flush toilets and hot running water, but these items were largely absent in the rural homes (Table 19).

Most of the families owned their homes: eighty percent of the urban families and ninety-one percent of the rural families owned a home. Regardless of whether they rented or owned their homes, most of the families had a television set, a radio, and a washing machine, although families owning homes were more likely to have these items than were those who rented. A higher percentage of urban families owned a television set and a washer, but a higher percentage of rural families owned a radio. A good index of the magnitude of change that has occurred among rural families during the last two decades is the high incidence (70 percent) of ownership of a washing machine.

HEALTH

Studies of health in the areas of origin of the Spanish-speaking migrants have shown that levels of health and sanitation are relatively

Table 19. Urban and rural household heads reporting types of household facilities, by education of head.

Highest grade completed by head	Flush toilet						Running hot water			
	None		Shared		Private		Yes		No	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	2	16	9	0	24	4	31	2	4	18
1-3 years	0	17	1	1	49	4	47	5	3	17
4-6 years	0	11	2	0	62	5	62	3	2	13
7 or more years	1	4	4	1	83	2	86	4	1	3
Total responding	3	48	16	2	218	15	226	14	10	51

poor for much of the Spanish-speaking population.[12] To the extent that migrants to Saginaw County are representative, they have made notable health improvements since coming to Michigan. Improvements are particularly true for the urban group, many of whom are second generation migrants to the Saginaw area.

Incidence of Illness

In their own judgement, both the rural and the urban heads of households were relatively healthy at the time of the survey. Among the urban heads of households, 146, or about 60 percent, of the total has no illnesses that would have kept them from work during the past year. Rural workers had relatively fewer illnesses: 66 percent had no illness that kept them from work during the last year. These figures, of course, may well be reflections of good health and a disinclination to seek medical attention or to admit the need for it (Table 20).

Table 20. Number of illnesses reported by urban and rural heads of households in previous years, by age and occupation of head.

Age and occupation of head	Number of illnesses						Total responding	
	None		1-2		3 or more			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Under 30 years	26	12	14	2	1	0	41	14
30 - 39	57	7	33	4	1	0	91	11
40 - 49	26	14	16	8	2	0	44	22
50 - 59	18	9	18	6	1	0	37	15
60 and over	19	3	13	3	0	0	32	6
Total responding	146	45	94	23	5	0	245	68
Skilled and semi-skilled	24	4	16	0	0	0	40	4
Unskilled	121	38	76	23	5	0	202	61
Total responding	145	42	92	23	5	0	242	65

12. Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care, Russell Sage Foundation, New York: 1954.

Only slight differences (not statistically significant at .01 level) were noted in the incidence of illness between the occupational groups. For rural heads, 62 percent had no disabling illness during the past year. These figures are comparable to data presented by the National Center of Health Statistics for all employed males for the year beginning in July 1962 and ending in July 1964.[13]

Data from the study show that the Spanish-speaking people of Saginaw County are accepting local preventive health services. In the annual campaign in the County to have everyone undergo an x-ray, slightly more than 61 percent of the heads of urban households visited had a chest x-ray or a general physical examination during the past two years. The record for rural family heads was not as good as for the urban heads. Little difference was indicated between the skilled and the unskilled workers in the degree to which health services were used. The marked differences between rural and urban household heads indicate that the length of time in the county, as well as residence, is closely associated with health care.

Dental Care

The extent and quality of dental care seems to be one of the more dependable and accurate indexes of health status.[14] Yet, where economic conditions impose limitations of health services, this area appears to be the first in which curtailment of service occurs.

The Spanish-speaking population of Saginaw County seems to be near the national level in its use of dental services. The National Health Survey found that about 60 percent of the total population of the nation failed to visit a dentist during the year June 1958 to June 1959.[15] Of the survey population, about 55 percent of the urban and 76 percent of the rural heads of households made no visit to dentists during the two years preceeding the survey. Only 17, or approximately 7 percent, of the wives of urban workers failed to visit their dentists during the 2 years preceeding the survey, and 14, or 22 percent, of the rural spouses failed to make such a visit during the same period. Thirty-one of the urban and only 2

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13. National Center of Health Statistics, Series 10, No. 24, Public Health Service, HEW, Washington: 1964.

14. Selected Dental Findings in Adults, by Age, Race, and Sex, United States 1960-62, National Center for Health Statistics, Series 11, No. 7, 1965.

15. Health Statistics Series B-No. 15, U. S. National Health Survey, Washington, 1959.

of the rural spouses claimed to have visited their dentists regularly during the two years preceeding the survey.

There was little consistency in the relationship between occupation and the frequency of visits to the dentists. Nevertheless, 49 of the 61 heads of the rural households, or about 80 percent of the total, made no visits to the dentist during the past two years. There seemed to be some relationship between formal education of the heads of households and the amount of dental care received, although the number of cases is too small to permit more than an indication of this relationship. For all household heads reporting, those with no education see their dentists relatively less often than do those with 7 or more years of schooling.

A majority of the heads of households reported that they take their children to the dentists regularly or "as often as needed." Although it is recognized that "as needed" is subject to varying definition, it is assumed that it is at least a step or two above "never" in dental care.

About 43 percent of the heads of urban households but only 6 percent of rural household heads take their children to the dentist regularly. There is little evidence of a relationship between age and dental care for heads of households, although the education of the heads of the household seems related to dental care for children. The percentage of urban heads who took their children to visit a dentist regularly varied from 28 percent of those with no education to 51 percent of those with 7 or more years of schooling. The limited number of cases makes it difficult to suggest relationships among rural families.

Medical Insurance for Families

Increases in the number of families and persons with medical insurance, both in rural and in urban areas, have proceeded rapidly in the United States during the last quarter of a century. Although there has been some lag in the coverage for rural families as compared with urban, increases for the farmerare not insignificant. A national health survey in 1953 showed that about 45 percent of all farm families and 70 percent of all urban families were protected by some kind of health insurance.[16] Another survey in 1959 found that 72 percent of urban and 61 percent of rural families had hospital insurance.[17]

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16. Progress in Health Service, Health Information Foundation, Vol. V, No. 9, March 1966.

17. Elsie S. Manny, Hospitals for Rural People, Farmers Bulletin No. 2110, Economic Research Center, USDA, Washington, 1959, p. 10.

The proportion of Spanish-speaking families of Saginaw County with health insurance in 1960 and 1961 was at least as high as that for the national average for those two years. About 91 percent of all urban heads of households interviewed had some kind of voluntary health insurance at the time of the interview, the percentage for the younger heads being somewhat higher. As in the national picture rural families in 1960 had health insurance less often than urban families. (Table 21).

LANGUAGE

The process of cultural assimilation in the United States has not been an even one for all ethnic groups. The Spanish-speaking people constitute one of the more resistant cases. This has been true particularly for the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest, where large groups have been relatively isolated, both socially and geographically, and where a steady, if sometimes small, stream of immigration from Mexico into the Southwest has contributed to the maintenance of a strong Spanish flavor in the area. Not until well into the twentieth century has major progress been made in the integration of large segments of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest into the stream of national life. As Professor George I. Sanchez, a longtime student of the area has commented, "The Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest have produced a kind of cultural indigestion in the area that has only now begun to show signs of disintegration."

An important element in determining the pace at which assimilation of these people has taken place undoubtedly has been the use of the Spanish language. Despite the influence of a system of education that has emphasized the exclusive use of English, an almost complete absence of Spanish literature, and an ever-increasing rate of contact and interaction with English-speaking groups, most of the descendents of Spanish-speaking families of the Southwest are still able to speak a language that, despite a heavy mixture of English and a now ancient form of syntax and pronunciation, is still unmistakably Spanish.

It is frequently assumed by sociologists, anthropologists, linguists, and psychologists, that clinging to a traditional language and thereby achieving less fluency in the dominant language can be a major handicap to the assimilation into another culture. The inability to communicate freely with members of peer groups, especially during the early years so important in the development and stabilization of personality, may well be a handicap throughout life.

Very little research has been done to determine the relationship between language and achievement in a specific social context.[18]

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18. For a study of similar materials see Alvin L. Bertrand and Calvin L. Beale, The French and Non-French in Rural Louisiana, Louisiana State University and Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 606, December 1965.

Table 21. Urban and rural heads of households with health insurance by age, occupation, and education of head.

Age, occupation, and schooling of head	With insurance		Total responding			
	Urban	Rural	Urban		Rural	
	No.	No.	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Age						
Under 30	32	2	41	17	14	21
30 - 39	84	3	91	37	11	16
40 - 49	43	5	44	18	22	32
50 - 59	36	6	38	15	15	22
60 and over	28	4	31	13	6	9
Total responding	223	20	245	100	68	100
Occupation						
Skilled and semi-skilled	33	1	41	17	4	6
Unskilled	192	19	202	83	61	94
Total responding	225	20	243	100	65	100
Highest grade completed						
0	31	7	35	15	20	30
1 - 3	48	6	49	21	22	33
4 - 6	60	3	64	27	17	25
7 and over	75	3	88	37	8	12
Total	214	19	236	100	67	100

Hence, existing generalizations concerning the functional importance of language in achievement are mostly theoretical and logical rather than empirical and pragmatic. Some would regard this type of research as "researching the obvious," that the importance of language is something that, to use the words of Al Capp's Li'l Abner, "any fool can see."

This study makes a limited effort to test the importance of language as a factor to limiting participation in local activities in both the urban and the rural setting of Saginaw County, Michigan. Although circumscribed, both the rural and the urban groups surveyed provide data that permit measurements ofthe relationship between language and specific individual and group characteristics. The results offered are largely suggestive, and make no pretense of rigidly fixing the importance of language to achievement. This does not mean to suggest that the relationships observed are of no importance but rather that in most cases they are inconclusive.

Use of Spanish

The importance of Spanish as a means of communication, even to urban heads of households in Saginaw, Michigan, is evident in Table 22. Of 150 urban household heads responding to the inquiry, 117 (78 percent of the total) reported that they usually speak Spanish to adults in their homes, i.e., to their wives, husbands, or other persons that might be living in the households. Despite their relatively long residence in Michigan, only 22 percent of the urban sample spoke more English than Spanish to adults in their homes. All of the rural household heads, many of whom maintain permanent homes elsewhere, reported speaking more Spanish than English to other adults in the home. Where heads use Spanish to adults, they also use Spanish to children in the home.

Table 22. Language spoken by urban and rural household heads to other adults in home, by language spoken by children to adults in home.

Language spoken by children to adults in home	Spanish more than English		English more than Spanish		Total responding	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Spanish more than English	38	56	0	0	38	56
English more than Spanish	79	2	33	0	112	2
Total responding	117	58	33	0	150	58

Most of the household heads have neighbors with whom they can, and with whom they prefer, to speak Spanish. Slightly more than 30 percent of the urban informants estimated that most or all of their conversations with neighbors were in Spanish. Thirty-four percent of the remainder thought that they used Spanish more than English with their neighbors. The use of Spanish is more marked for the rural families who, in their daily tasks, are in constant contact with other Spanish-speaking persons. Ninety-seven percent of the rural group judged that they speak more Spanish than English to their neighbors. The two heads who reported speaking more English than Spanish were among the longer-term residents who had no difficulties in conversing with non-Spanish-speaking neighbors. The common use of Spanish can do much to determine why the people have come to live closely together in the so-called Spanish area of the city. There seems to be no ecological reason for the current residential pattern. Jobs, especially for the males, are widely dispersed over the city.

Most of the employed adults must use English on the job. Only 11 percent of the urban workers were able to use Spanish rather than English in their work, but 167 of the 229 urban workers (73 percent) always or almost always speak English while on the job. As might be expected, many of the informants who use Spanish almost exclusively in the home did not use it while at work. Thus, it is in the work-place that adults usually speak English.

The use of Spanish by heads of households is closely related to their place of birth. This indicates that some came to Michigan with more knowledge of English than others. While only about 17 percent of the urban residents born in Texas and Michigan use more Spanish than English, almost half those born in Mexico do so. No rural informants gave Michigan as their place of birth. Of the rural informants born in Texas, all but three use more Spanish than English. Thus, as with other characteristics examined in the study, use of language is closely related to residence and to state of birth.

Most of the heads of households read more English newspapers and magazines than Spanish. This, of course, is partially a matter of convenience, because English publications are cheaper, more timely, and more generally available. Wives, however, read more Spanish magazines than do their husbands. A large portion of this group read little in either of the languages. It should be kept in mind in interpreting these figures that the more common use of Spanish by many heads of households is the result of a limited knowledge of English rather than any personal preference for Spanish.

Language and Income

It may be considered trite to point out that inability to communicate well in the dominant language of an area or a country is a serious handicap to achievement in the area or country. This handicap is apparent in the data of the study, although it cannot be validated as it might be were it possible to control for certain other factors such as education. Most data, however, show that the inability to use English as a working language is generally associated with minimal education or literacy.

As a result of extensive contact with English-speaking schoolmates, companions at play and other peers, children, by necessity, are more likely to forsake their traditional language more completely and more rapidly than their parents. When children begin to depart from the traditional language in conversations with other members of the household, one can be assured that they are well along the road to adopting the dominant language. Both longer residence and higher income of parents at all levels of education seem related to the children's use of English. Much evidence of this changing pattern is contained in Table 23, which shows the relationship of the language children use in conversation with their parents and other adults in their homes to the annual income of the family. Where the family incomes are less than $4,000 per year, 76 percent of the children speak more Spanish than English to adults in the home. This percentage was 96 for rural children and 40 percent for the urban. For families with incomes of $4,000 to $6,000 the percentage drops to 26.

Table 23. Annual income of urban and rural household heads, by language spoken by children 10-17 years of age to adults in home.

Language spoken by children to adults in home	Income of head							
	Under $4,000		$4,000-$5,999		$6,000 and over		Total	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Spanish more than English	17	74	49	0	7	0	73	74
English more than Spanish	25	3	138	0	23	0	186	3
Total responding1/	42	77	187	0	30	0	259	77

1/ Differences significant for rural but not urban heads at .05 level.

As indicated earlier there seems to be a close relationship between residence and language preference. Children make little use of Spanish either at work or at school even though most of the children live in areas where it would be possible to play almost exclusively with children of Spanish-speaking families. The switch to English seems to be particularly marked for the urban children, who, obviously, have more opportunities to associate with English-speaking children. Although differences are not statistically significant, there appears to be a somewhat greater tendency for the children of higher income families to use English. While 6 children of families earning less than $6,000 speak Spanish more than English with their friends at work and at play, none of the children of families earning $6,000 and over do so. Among rural children who use Spanish almost exclusively in their homes, all but 11 abandon it when with their playmates or at school.

Language and Education

It has been noted that a large percentage of the heads of families visited prefer Spanish to English for both speaking and reading. This does not mean that they have no knowledge of English but rather that their facility in Spanish is greater and that they feel more comfortable in using it.

The parents' fluency in a language, or lack of it, will determine, in part, the language children will use in the home. They prefer to use the language of their peers and generally are confident in their ability to learn to speak this language relatively quickly.

Since Spanish is the only language of which most of the rural household heads have a working knowledge, it is to be expected that they will use it in addressing their children and will be answered by them in the same language. Practically all the rural informants use Spanish in the home, and since they use it easily and fluently, they are addressed by children in this language. For the urban sample, however, 56 percent of the 77 heads who gave Spanish as the most common language in the home were answered in English by their children, indicating some degree of mastery of English by both children and parents. Where English is spoken to children in the home, only a few of the children reply in Spanish (less than 7% for urban families). Almost 24 percent of the children whose parents think they speak more English than Spanish at work speak to their parents in Spanish. This suggests that many of the household heads who use more English than Spanish in their work must rely on a rather meager knowledge of the language.

A pattern of language use similar to the one above holds for adults visiting neighbors. All rural informants responding reported that they speak Spanish exclusively with neighbors, and all their children, on whom data could be gotten, spoke to their parents in Spanish. Although more than half (64 percent) of the urban

groups visited with their neighbors mostly in Spanish, only 36 percent of their children speak mostly Spanish to them and to other adults in the home (Table 24). Too, only 4 of the children of the 54 urban heads reporting the use of more English than Spanish in their visits, claim to use Spanish in their homes.

The amount of formal education of the heads of households seems to be related not only to their ability to use English but to the formal educational level of other members in the households, especially of the spouse. This association was more marked for the rural than for urban wives. Of urban spouses with husbands (or wives) reporting less than 2 years of schooling, slightly more than 74 percent speak more Spanish than English in the home and 56 percent speak more Spanish to neighbors. Where heads reported 7 years of schooling or more, only 26 percent speak more Spanish to adults in the home and 15 percent speak more Spanish to neighbors.

Table 24. Language urban and rural household heads speak to neighbors, by language children speak to adults in home.

Language children speak to adults in home	Speak to neighbors: More Spanish than English		Speak to neighbors: More English than Spanish		Total responding	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
More Spanish than English	35	56	4	0	39	56
More English than Spanish	62	0	50	2	112	2
Total responding	97	56	54	2	151	58

Five of the 59 urban spouses of heads of households with less than two years of education (about 8 percent) read Spanish newspapers. Eleven (19 percent) limit their reading of magazines to those in Spanish. For the same category of rural spouses, the percentage reading Spanish only was the same for newspapers and for magazines. For spouses with better educated husbands (7 years and over) practically all read newspapers and magazines in English. This was more evident for the rural group than for the urban.

Actually, the number, both relative and absolute, reading neither newspapers or magazines was large. More than 19 percent of the urban and 32 percent of the rural spouses read neither Spanish nor English newspapers. For magazines the percentages were 33 and 36, respectively. For both the rural and the urban groups shifts from reading in Spanish to reading in English was marked as educational achievement increased.

As indicated previously, language used by children in the home seems to be closely related to education of the spouse (see Table 25). As the education of the spouse increases, there is a consistent decrease in the number of children who use more Spanish than English in the home. Of the three rural children who reported using more English than Spanish in the home, all were children of mothers with 7 years of schooling or more. Of the urban children using more Spanish than English in their homes almost 60 percent were children of mothers with no education. Only 16 percent of the children having mothers with 7 years of schooling or more used more Spanish than English. Such information indicates that the education of the mother is as important as the education of the father in determining whether or not children will use English in the home. The statement that "the culture of the children is the culture of the mother" is given support by these data.

Table 25. Language urban and rural children speak to adults in home, by education of spouse.

Education of spouse	Spanish more than English		English more than Spanish		Total responding	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	24	41	13	0	37	41
1 - 3 years	15	33	28	0	43	33
4 - 6 years	14	32	61	0	75	32
7 or more years	13	4	70	3	83	7
Total reporting	66	110	172	3	238	113

The use children make of language at play is also associated with the education of the parents. Of the 6 urban children who reported that they usually speak Spanish at play, 5 were children of parents having no formal schooling. In the rural households where Spanish is usually spoken by all, the one child whose father had 7 years of schooling or more usually speaks Spanish to his playmates.

The same pattern appears where data on education completed by the head of the family is classified by the children's use of language with other children at home, at play, or at work. There is a marked decline in the children's use of Spanish with one another as the education of the household head increases. Only 3 urban children, and none of the rural children, of parents with 7 years of schooling or more, always or usually speak Spanish to each other. A similar pattern obtains in the use of language at school and at work. Since the Saginaw County schools contain mostly English-speaking children, the use of Spanish is awkward in all activities involving large groups. Even so, a few of the children claimed that they speak more Spanish than English in school. All of these children had parents with less than 7 years of schooling.

There is a great deal of carry-over in the use of languages from one situation to another. Where Spanish is usually, or always, spoken by adults in the home, the head is much more likely to speak Spanish at work or while visiting with neighbors. This relationship is especially marked for the rural heads of households where facility in the use of English is limited not only for the husband and wife but for other members of the households as well.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This survey encompasses two distinct groups of Spanish-speaking persons: (1) urban residents of the city of Saginaw, mostly from Texas or other Southwestern States and more or less permanently attached to the Michigan area, and (2) rural residents, most of whom are recent arrivals in the county who maintain ties with their communities of origin in the Southwest. Comparisons between these two groups are maintained throughout the analysis, since statistically significant differences are found on numerous measures.

The data show that most of the sample population, or their parents, originally came to Michigan from the Southwest or Mexico to do farm work. Those in the urban group represent individuals and families who have been in the area for longer periods and who have shifted to urban residence and urban jobs. A few of the urban adults still work on farms, whether regularly or occasionally. Most of the rural residents, both adults and children, indicated that they expect to move to the city sometime in the near future.

Most of the adults visited in the survey claim to have had but little difficulty in adjusting to the Michigan environment although they spoke little or no English on arrival. They appear to have encountered no major hurdles in looking for unskilled or semi-skilled work, or in the readiness of employers to hire them. However, lack of facility in the use of English, along with the fact that the majority of the adults, and particularly the older adults, have little or no formal education or training, has made it difficult for them to move into skilled jobs.

Younger Spanish-speaking persons, with longer residence in the county, had achieved higher levels of education than their parents, although such achievements were less than for comparable age groups in the total population of the county. Many of the youth become drop-outs during the latter part of their high school studies.

Parents have relatively low educational and occupational aspirations for themselves but high aspirations for their children. This is particularly true for sons. Rural youth are about equal to urban youth in their aspirations for the future with almost all looking forward to the time when they can become urban residents. Parents who are handicapped by lack of education and training generally want to see their children stay in school as long as possible and to become facile in the use of English.

Participation of parents in local affairs is extremely limited. Some of the families with longer periods of residence visit the schools now and then and attend some of the meetings of the Parents Teachers Association but seldom get involved in the programs. Some participation and involvement in local affairs is found for urban residents. Contacts of rural residents, with others, however, is limited almost totally to friends and neighbors. This is due, in part, to the very limited number of activties available to the rural people in the communities in which they reside. Of more importance is the serious handicap imposed by an extremely limited knowledge of English, and the facility to use it.

Health conditions among the Spanish-speaking people of Saginaw County are reported to be relatively good. The incidence of illness, for both rural and urban families, was about the same as for the total U.S. population. Members of urban families were found to visit both doctor and dentist one or more times per year. Most of the urban families carried some type of voluntary health insurance while only about one-fourth of the rural families carried such insurance.

There is clear evidence of preference for Spanish over English at all age and economic levels. This preference was especially marked for the adults, many of whom knew little or no English. Only a few of those employed are able to use Spanish at work but most use it at home with friends, relatives, and neighbors with whom they visit. Children show tendencies to shift more and more to English, and especially in situations outside the home.

The use of English in all situations seems to be positively related to adult achievement, and particularly economic achievement. Type of work, level of living, and amount of income all seem to be positively related to the ability to use English and an inclination to do so. It is a prestige symbol within as well as outside the Spanish-speaking community.

The inability to use English well appears to be a serious handicap to reading since printed materials in English are more generally available and are much less expensive. Persons with little knowledge of English reported reading very little. Spanish newspapers and magazines were found in many of the homes but were out of date and originated principally in New York, Chicago, and Miami.

Much evidence is available to show a clear trend among the Spanish-speaking people to become better educated, which implies a more effective and universal use of English. As this change occurs the people move into better paying jobs, including those at the skilled and managerial levels. Movement from agricultural work and rural residence to urban jobs and urban residence predominantly is a one-way street. Only a few of those who leave agricultural work return to it except by necessity and even this is regarded as temporary. Thus, any pool of Spanish-speaking migrant farm labor requires steady and constant replenishment. The current supply of Spanish-speaking children, both urban and rural, will contribute little if anything to the farm labor needs of the state.